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trappings. Again, in the processional arrangements everything seemed suggestive, not of a Queen who represented a peace-loving people, but of the head of some nation delighting only in war. Lord Rosebery a few years ago publicly said that the consuming passion of the British people would always be a passion for peace. But this royal funeral entirely ignored everything representative of civil life. Kings and princes in uniform, generals and high officers, with troops escorting the mourning family and household, exclusively constituted the procession. Where were the Lords and Commons? Where were the bishops or the chaplains of her deceased Majesty? A stranger to English life might have thought that Queen Victoria had no religion, that there was no Parliament in this country any more than in Russia, Turkey or China, and that some Semiramis or Cleopatra was being borne to sepulture. In truth, Victoria's funeral, instead of representing her beautiful life and gracious womanhood, was by this militant monopoly robbed of what should have been its appropriate character. Happily, the people themselves paid her the truest honor. The death of Queen Victoria has affected all civilized nations, and the effect of a civil funeral would have been much more salutary than a display of martial pomp. This wonderful incident is made to be significant for the moment of the principle which is so painfully stereotyped in St. Paul's Cathedral, where we wander about amongst the monuments of fighting men, and can find only one or two memorials of bishops and missionaries of the Christian Church. Our chief cathedral thus glorifies the army and navy to such a degree that it is rather like a pagan pantheon than a Christian church."

The Nonconformist Conscience and the Transvaal War.

BY HERBERT W. HORWILL.*

Alliances are in the air just now — very much in the air. But there is at least one that has substance. It is an alliance that should inspire the friends of peace with a new hope; for when English Nonconformists and music-hall jingoes are seen marching side by side, who will dare say that there exist anywhere in the world antipathies incapable of reconciliation? It was reported to be the ambition of the late Lord Houghton to become the president of a Heaven and Hell Amalgamation Society. The establishment of such a league remains an ideal of the future. But we can hardly doubt that it is approximating to the range of practical politics when we find the Memorial Hall and the Empire Theatre in London united in support of the same policy; the *British Weekly* saying "ditto" to the *Daily Mail*, and the *Methodist Times* to *Pick-Me-Up*, and Dr. Joseph Parker linked arm-in-arm with Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett. These are spectacles than which no biography could exhibit anything more piquant.

Yet this strange coöperation does not, after all, indicate a complete identity of interest and conviction between two forces which have previously been separated from one another by strictly marked boundaries. The enthu-

siasm with which so many leaders of the Nonconformist churches have defended the war must be attributed to causes very different from those which have inflamed the patriotism of the saloons. Presently blind eyes will be opened. Meanwhile it is of interest to search out the influences which have had most to do with this astounding perversion of modern Puritanism.

The argument which probably has appealed more strongly than any other to the Nonconformist conscience is that the Boers deserve to be punished for their cruelty to the African natives. The war, therefore, becomes a campaign of philanthropy and liberation. The religious press has industriously collected evidence of the subjection in which the blacks of the Transvaal have been held. The testimony of Moffatt and Livingstone, respecting the condition of things fifty years ago, has been extensively quoted as though of unchallenged application to the present crisis. It has been shown by Dr. Theal that some of Dr. Livingstone's statements in this connection must be received with caution; but, assuming such testimonies to be in the main correct, there are two considerations which appear to have escaped the notice of those who have been prompted by benevolent motives to support the war.

In the first place, they have forgotten that, even in vindication of the brotherhood of man, one must have a care of one's methods; otherwise there is no reason for rejecting the principle, so often denounced in the Jesuits, that the end justifies the means. If, as suggested by Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock), there is to be recognized in Mr. Chamberlain a combination of the virtues of Moses and Job, there need have been few scruples; but it might have been supposed that certain matters of sham inquiry, fraudulent diplomatic claims and scornful speech-making — culminating in wholesale slaughter, in farm burning, and in widespread devastation and ruin — would have made some consciences uneasy.

Then they have overlooked a famous ancient instruction respecting "motes" and "beams." Suppose the really philanthropic advocates of the war were first to examine the British record before proceeding to chastise the Transvaal. They might dismiss, if they liked, all inconvenient memories of the treatment of aborigines in Australia and New Zealand. They might even find ingenious excuses for the defense made in the House of Commons by government officials of slavery under the British flag in Zanzibar only a few years ago. The history of recent "expansion" among the Matabele and Bechuanas would be enough to convince any fair judge that the prosecutor on this count ought rather himself to be in the dock. The story of the humanizing of South Africa contains certain incidents, such as the dynamiting of caves containing men, women and children, which, however trifling from the point of view of *la haute politique*, deserve attention from those whose sympathies with native races have impelled them to send Lord Kitchener, fresh from his "exploration" of the Mahdi's tomb, to teach gentleness to the savage Boers.

But even these generous instincts would not have brought the Nonconformist churches over to the side of militarism if it had not been for another reason which, in a sense, does them great credit. They have been considerably affected by their unwillingness to believe in

*Mr. Horwill, an English Nonconformist clergyman and journalist, who has recently come to this country to settle, was a member of the original Stop-the-War Committee when the Transvaal War broke out, and one of the speakers at the Exeter Hall protest meeting, which was besieged from the Strand.

the possibility of such motives as the opponents of the war have attributed to some of its leading promoters. That respectable Englishmen at the end of the nineteenth century should deliberately have fomented war from revenge and lust of blood — horrible and incredible! That speculators should have been eager to promote their own fortunes at the cost of thousands of innocent lives and the infliction of desolation upon a wide country — it must be a libel upon human nature, and an unwarrantable denial of the efficacy of Christian preaching during the last generation. A little more knowledge of the world would have opened the eyes of these charitable persons. If they had been present at the riot that memorable Sunday afternoon in Trafalgar Square; if they had watched the send-off of the troops; if they had tasted the wit of the Stock Exchange; if they had glanced at the journals which in these days command cabinets and are obeyed; if they had only observed some of the newspaper placards (for example, "War! War! War! It's a good thing. Shove it along"), they might have begun to suspect that their own aspirations for the spread of the kingdom of God were being exploited in the interests of a very different régime.

There is reason to fear that the attitude of many Nonconformists has been affected, however unconsciously, by an influence of another type. Of recent years there has grown up within English Nonconformity a consciousness of size, not to say an admiration for bigness, which has something in common with the imperialistic passion for adding another patch of red to the map. The Nonconformist leaders, ministerial and lay, who have been loudest in approval of the war are the very men who have been most vociferous in proclaiming on Free Church Council platforms the unprecedented importance of their own denominations and the epoch-making significance of every resolution of their own committees. They have caught the trick of thinking in millions, and the sensation is exhilarating to both speakers and audiences. The temper thus fostered has made it easier to share the ambitions of Mr. Rhodes. But it is not all gain, especially when it means a renunciation of the ideals which made the lives of the "Little Nonconformists" of earlier days worth remembering.

Mr. Hugh Price Hughes has warned those who disagree with the war not to "dash themselves in pieces against the immovable rock of a national instinct." This is a new note in English Nonconformity, which has in its records not a few instances of the struggles of insignificant minorities against apparently overwhelming forces. Without numbers, without wealth, without social influence, little groups of devoted men have battled again and again for righteousness and truth, and it has hitherto been believed that those who to-day enjoy civil and religious liberty are indebted for this blessing to the heroism of such sturdy antagonists of tyranny and wrong. It seems, however, that "this kind of thing's an exploded idea." Still, the explosion is quite recent, and it is not surprising if it takes some of us a little time to adjust ourselves to the calm contemplation of the débris. Certainly, even as late as a quarter of a century ago, the doctrine of the essential folly of being in a minority would have appeared scarcely in place as a Nonconformist axiom. What, I wonder, would Dale of Birmingham have had to say about it?

Evils of Imperialism and Militarism.

BY CARDINAL GIBBONS.

Sermon preached in the Cathedral at Baltimore on the 6th of January; text, Isaiah lx.

The mission of Jesus Christ on earth was a mission of peace. He came to establish in our hearts a triple peace — peace with God, peace with our neighbor and peace with ourselves. Man's peace with God was dissolved by his rebellion against his Maker. Christ came to restore man to the friendship of God by sacrifice of His life on the cross. He tells us that this peace is to be maintained by the observance of the Commandments. "There is much peace, O Lord, to those that keep Thy law, and for them there is no stumbling block."

He has taught us to have peace with our neighbor by observing the eternal principles of justice and charity, by doing unto others what we would wish others to do unto us. And He tells us that we will have peace with ourselves by keeping our passions subject to reason and our reason subject to faith.

But Christ's mission of peace had a wider scope than to the individual man. His mission was also to bring peace to the family and society. As the God of Peace, which He is called by St. Paul, He brings peace to the human heart; as the Father of Peace, He brings peace to the family, and as the Prince of Peace, as He is called by Isaiah, He brings peace to society and the commonwealth.

Before the advent of Christ war was the rule, peace the exception throughout the world. So regular, incessant and habitual was war before the coming of our Saviour that the sacred writer in the Book of Kings speaks of a certain season of the year as the usual period for the reopening of hostilities.

In pagan Rome the Temple of Janus was closed in time of peace and kept open in time of war. From the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the third King of Rome, to Augustus Cæsar, a period covering six hundred and fifty years, the temple was closed only for six years. So that Rome enjoyed only six years of tranquillity against six hundred and forty-four of warfare.

But although wars are less frequent and less inhuman in the Christian dispensation than in pagan times, it must be confessed that we are as yet far removed from the millennium of universal peace. "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace toward men of good will" was the song of the angels on the night of our Saviour's birth at Bethlehem. Although these words have been resounding throughout the world for nearly two thousand years, and though Christianity is the prevailing religion in Europe, it is a melancholy reflection that it has not yet succeeded in arresting war and establishing the permanent reign of peace on that continent. In fact, the nineteenth century, from its dawn to its sunset, has witnessed an almost continuous scene of sanguinary struggles between the nations of Christian Europe.

WARS OF THE CENTURY.

At the close of the eighteenth century we find the allied forces of the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia invading Poland, and, after a heroic resistance under the leadership of Kosciusko (who had previously drawn his sword in behalf of American independence) the Kingdom of Poland was subdued and dismembered and partitioned out between Russia, Austria and Prussia.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century till